

archy, with one of the royal family of England as its head. Mr. Wallis says the British Col. Nichols told him the Naval commander had his orders to place Harrison Gray Otis at the head of the affair, until the pleasure of the Prince Regent was known.

What that pleasure was to be, appears to have been already arranged. The British United Service Journal says the object was to separate the Northern and Eastern from the Southern and Western States, to establish a limited monarchy in the first named States, placing one of our princes of the blood on the throne.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

Texas was from the first a rock of offence to New England. Mr. Monroe, who regarded our title to it as indestructible, was persuaded by Mr. Adams to give it up to Spain by the treaty of Florida. The New England men threatened dissolution should Texas not be given up. Said Mr. Monroe, in one of his letters on this subject: "The difficulty is altogether internal and of the most distressing nature and dangerous tendency."

And what was that difficulty? The Eastern Federalists menaced the Union if Mr. Monroe admitted Texas into the Union. Mr. Monroe was deterred by these menaces of disunion! Mr. J. Q. Adams was in his Cabinet and he knew the designs of the Boston Federalists. What these designs were, Mr. Adams himself subsequently developed in his attack upon the Hartford Convention.

This difficulty about Texas again broke out after the establishment of her independence, and when she applied for admission into the Federal Union, this developed afresh the sectionalism and secessionism of New England, and here we have to note a change of opinion on the part of Mr. Adams. He now makes his appearance as one of the New England agitators.

In a speech on the 5th of November, 1844, at Bridgewater, Mass., Mr. Adams said in relation to the annexation of Texas: "The whole transaction was a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and its consummation, had it been effected, would have been itself a dissolution of the Union. This was said after the rejection of the treaty and before annexation by resolution of Congress."

In 1843, Mr. Adams and nineteen Congressmen issued a most elaborate paper, addressed to the people of the Free States of the Union. The *National Intelligencer*, in which it appeared, expressed reluctance in publishing it, because of the address which it bears to the people of a portion of the United States.

In March, 1845, the Boston Post said: "By the annexation resolutions of the Whig Legislature, Massachusetts declares that she will go out of the Union if Texas comes in, or that at least she will nullify the act of annexation."

The following is one of the resolutions offered by Mr. Bell, passed at its session in 1845:—

"Resolved, That as the powers of legislation granted in Congress do not embrace the case of the admission of a foreign State or Territory, by legislation, into the Union, such an act would have no binding force whatever on the people of Massachusetts."

The Boston Atlas, on the 26th December, 1844, says of the annexation of Texas:

"It involves the whole broad question of the permanency of our Government, and the continuation of our Union."

"Massachusetts cannot—she must not, she will not—submit to the annexation of Texas to the United States. Let this idea be impressed firmly, indelibly upon the public mind. This Union is a Partnership of twenty-six States."

The following is also of that party:

"We shall certainly consider the annexation of Texas, or of any other foreign State, to this country, as a virtual dissolution of the Union, and we apprehend that such a vast addition to our territory and population would so far change the nature and circumstances of the connection, as to involve the disunion of the States from any further obligation under the original contract of the Union."

John Reed, Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts, on August 4, 1844, said:

"It must be understood that the free States will neither consent nor submit to the annexation of Texas to this Union. Such annexation would result in its dissolution. Indeed, annexation without provision in the Constitution, and without consent, would be an abrogation from the bonds and obligations of the Constitution."

And John Quincy Adams, in the declaration by himself and nineteen other members of Congress, says:

"We hesitate not to say that annexation, effected by any act or proceedings of the Federal Government, or any of its Departments, would be identical with dissolution. Not only inevitably to result in a dissolution of the Union, but to justify it."

Gov. Slade, of Vermont, said, in his message to the Legislature of that State:

"I do not hesitate to declare, as my opinion, that upon the consummation of this project, it will be the duty of Vermont, to declare her unalterable determination to refuse any connection with the new Union, thus formed without her consent and against her will."

Mr. King, a leading Republican, thus gives his opinion on secession:—

"We say this advisedly—upon information not to be disregarded—and with a full, deliberate and unshaken conviction, that annexation, come in what form it may, is, and should be, the dissolution of the Union."

The Boston Atlas said:—

"It is a grave matter to dissolve such a holy Union as ours has been—and none but grave causes should sever the bond. We can bear all but this, (annexation of Texas)."

John Quincy Adams offered, in the House of Representatives, on 28th February, 1843, the following, among other resolutions:—

"Resolved, That any attempt of the Government of the United States, by an act of Congress, or by treaty, to annex to this Union the Republic of Texas, or the people thereof, would be a violation of the Constitution, null and void, and to which the free States of this Union and their people ought not to submit."

"We might cite numerous other proofs, but these are sufficient, to establish our proposition that sectionalism, disunion and secessionism originated in the North—in New England—and it appears now that her own discarded invasion has returned to plague her. The very idea—the remedy that she favored—is now asserted by the South against her! Consistency, decency, self-respect, common justice should prompt her to desist from obnoxious and reproach."

It is stated that the people of Norfolk have seized the powder house at Craney Island, and removed the powder to the city, and are making arrangements for a vigorous defence.

A STATE OF WAR NOT NECESSARILY RUINOUS.

There is a superstition in the Scotch Highlands, or a sort of nervous disease, perhaps, in which men, though broad awake, imagine they see themselves lying dead at a small distance from them. Our trade and industry, for the last three or four months, have had something of the same ailment. Since the first sign that war might come, they have seen nothing in reserve but "to lie in cold obcurity, and rot". The prospect has fairly bewildered and paralyzed them. But it is all a delusion. They are not going to die. They will suffer to some extent, doubtless, but nothing to what they have already suffered in the apprehension. Civil war may, and in all probability will come; but trade and industry, in these Northern States, will still live.

The prosperity of our great section rests upon a broad foundation to be fatally affected by any such struggle as secession threatens. The field of hostilities will, in no event, be upon our own soil; the number of men actually engaged will be insignificant in comparison with the great body at home; the expenditures inconsiderable in proportion to the vastness of our resources in money and credit; and the commercial disturbance of no material account in the world's sweep of our navigation. It is a vast mistake to suppose that a state of war is necessarily incompatible with thrift and progress. What was the experience of England in the mighty conflict she waged with little internal commotion from 1792 to 1815? During the latter years of that war England had over a million of men in military and naval pay. Her expenditures before its close had reached the enormous sum of more than one hundred million pounds sterling annually—exclusive of the large loans she was obliged to furnish to her impoverished allies on the continent. And yet she made greater advances in population, and in wealth, during these years than in any other period of her entire history. Her population increased one-fourth; her exports more than doubled; her shipping increased from one million of tons to two and a half; her agricultural products trebled in value, and her manufactures, in spite of temporary reverses, progressed in a ratio never before paralleled, her cotton manufactures alone increasing from a value of £2,880,000 in 1797 to £17,655,000 in 1814. Her annual revenues, received by taxation, increased from nineteen millions of pounds sterling in 1792 to seventy-two millions in 1815. England, notwithstanding vast burdens of taxation, such as no nation had ever before borne, was immeasurably the richest and most prosperous country in the world, at the close of the war; and even in 1814, before the great crisis, her government was able to borrow money at a better rate than at the beginning of the struggle, more than twenty years before.

She actually did borrow £35,000,000 at a trifle over four and a half per cent. It is an extraordinary fact that this remarkable prosperity in all departments of British industry continued up to the very close of the war, and was immediately followed by one of the severest periods of distress England has ever experienced. That distress was attributed to several causes, which it is not necessary to mention now; the truth remains the same—that prosperity was the concomitant of war, and adversity the first attendant of peace. Now who will not say, if the worst comes to the worst, when the free States, with their twenty millions, are not in as good a condition to maintain a strife with the entire South, possessed of not one-third of that number of white men, as was Great Britain, with its twelve or fifteen millions, to fight twice that number of Frenchmen? And who will think of comparing the scale of operations which it would be necessary for us to undertake with that required to meet and baffles such an antagonist as Napoleon?

There is no good reason why northern commerce should be injured in the least by the impending conflict. The rebel States have no navy to threaten it. They cannot engage in privateering, because the issue of letters of marque, that can be respected, is a national privilege only; and there is no likelihood that these States will get admittance into the family of nations. Privateering, uncondemned by national sanction, is simple piracy, and would not for a day be tolerated. In fact northern commerce would rather be the gainer by the change in the order of things. Every southern port of any consequence would be blockaded, and all direct trade with Europe thereby stopped. The operation of this would be that all foreign goods for southern consumption would come in by the ports of the North. Our own domestic manufactures would be to some extent injured by the partial loss of southern custom. But the great bulk of our manufactured goods finds a market elsewhere than south of Mason & Dixon's line, and, without, they are, to a large extent, of such character as virtually to be necessities of life, which the South could not dispense with even if it would.

Our agricultural industry will be even less affected. No southern war can at all lessen the demand of Europe for our breadstuffs, or improve the present incapacity of the South to furnish it, self with adequate supplies.

Unquestionably civil war, with the South for its theater, would much divert and disturb many channels of business. But the economic effect, on the whole, would be rather to slacken the swift progress we have been making than to send us backward, or even to bring us to a standstill. Business once relieved of the suspense which has been weighing upon it like an incubus, and knowing what to calculate upon, would soon adapt itself to the new condition of things. American industry of all sorts has an irrepressible energy and versatility which will not permit it to be long kept down. There is abundant capital in the North, a sound currency, little foreign debt, inexhaustible natural resources, a great and daily augmenting population, and a power to communicate, in the utmost freedom, with all quarters of the globe. In spite of this mad rebellion of the South, if we are only true to ourselves we cannot help prospering. The war, if it comes, will be deplorable. It is horrid that brother should meet brother in bloody strife; and not for the world would we say anything that should mitigate the sense of that. In its social bearings it is a terrible misfortune. We simply deny that in its economic relations it is to work, or come anywhere near working, the ruin to the North that some have pictured. We have treated the case as if the whole South were to join the rebels, of which there is no probability, and have thus presented it in its worst possible aspect.

THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS BANISHED.—New York, April 23.—Thirty-five Northern students in the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Fairfield county, Va., having received information that they were to be waited upon by a Vigilance Committee, resolved to flee to the free States as fast as possible—one has arrived here.

HOW AN HONORABLE AND PERMANENT PEACE, RECONSTRUCTION AND UNITY MIGHT BE SPEEDILY, EASILY, AND CHEAPLY RESTORED.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. * * * For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings, if ye thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbor; if ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, neither walk after other gods to your hurt; then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever and ever."—Jer. vii. 1, 7.

"Hide the outcasts, betray not him that wandereth. Let my outcasts dwell with thee. Be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler."—Isa. xvi. 3, 4.

"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant that hath escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with you, even among you; in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him."—Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

"Loose the bands of wickedness, * * * undo the heavy burdens * * * let the oppressed go free * * * break every yoke. * * * Then shall thy light break forth in the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward. * * * And there shall be of thee that shall build up the old waste places, thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."—Isa. lvi. 1, 2.

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."—Lev. xxv. 10.

"Cease to do evil. Learn to do well. Seek judgment; relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. * * * Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red, like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat of the good of the land, but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."—Isa. i. 16, 20.

President Lincoln! Believest thou the Prophets? I know that thou believest, and 'hast asked the prayers of God's people for His guidance and protection. Be entreated then, to read carefully, the first chapter of Isaiah, from whence this last of the above extracts is taken, especially the 11th to the 20th verses, inclusive; also the 58th chapter of the same book, and notice how strongly it affirms that prayers without liberating the oppressed are an abomination in God's sight. Do not plead that you have not the Constitutional power. Study "Our National Charters" and you will find, (as thousands are now finding) that you have. Remember too, how John Quincy Adams, on the floor of Congress, asserted, without contradiction, the war power of the Federal Government to abolish slavery. And Gen. Jackson, to repel invasion, impressed slaves into the service, without compensation to the owners, and without asking their leave. As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy; it is yours, in such an emergency as the present, to proclaim martial law, and save the nation. Elevated to your post, by the voice of the people, and by the Providence of God, it is your duty to protect them by obeying Him, remembering that His Constitution of Civil Government is paramount to all others, and supreme over all.

In this way, you may easily, cheaply, and speedily restore peace, unity and prosperity to our distracted country.

From the Liberator.

THOUGHTS ON TREASON.

MY DEAR GARRISON—Will you permit me to suggest a few thoughts to your readers on the subject of "Treason."—a subject on which, by your characteristic vigor and eloquence, you insist in your reply to B. G. Wright, in your last number?

The commission of a crime, so to be defined, implies the existence of a legitimate government, towards which it is directed. Treason is a violent resistance of its natural demands—a deadly assault upon its characteristic prerogatives. The very foundations of it the traitor attempts to subvert; and, for this purpose, brings hostile forces into full requisition. Of course, treason cannot exist without the presence of a government—to be supported or assailed; and government cannot exist, apart from the constructive principles on which it is naturally organized, and from which it derives all its authority. Wherever these are embodied and applied, there, and no where else, is government. Truth, Order, Justice, fraternal charity and expressed—these are its soul and substance—they are its life, and strength, and beauty, and glory. Treason consists in waging war on these majestic ideas, these sovereign principles, as the basis and being of an organized political society to which the traitor naturally belongs. This, and this only—this, and this always, is the crime, so to be described and disposed of.

A political society, which under the name of government, and in its organization and activity, assails essential Truth, Order, Justice and Humanity, is itself, and as itself, flagrantly guilty of treason. Every feature of its organization, and every passage in its history, are stained with the guilt of this "gigantic" wickedness. It is itself, and as itself, treason, intensely, malignantly, ruinously. Its very existence and activity are in themselves subversive of the very foundations of lawful authority. Under its influence, the natural objects of civil government are rudely and murderously trodden under foot.

John Brown was no traitor. Not he! He maintained, lovingly and reverently, to his last breath, his allegiance to everything substantial and vital in the principles and arrangements, by which Human Nature is to be controlled. Treason was and is the presiding demon of Virginia society. The so-called State there was, and is, wholly and remorselessly traitorous. The plotting, cunning and armed violence, there enlisted and employed, are wielded to subvert and crush Humanity. The assault on John Brown, there made, was wholly treasonable. Virginia was bound to do him homage as a king; it hung him on a gallows as a criminal. In the great Day of Order, when all faithful tendencies reach maturity, we shall see John Brown on the one hand, and Henry A. Wise on the other, restored to their proper places, respectively.

In the struggle between the Secessionists and the Union, we see "the potsherd of the earth striving with each other." Traitor thistles traitor. They are outlived, the one and the other, in a deadly warfare with Humanity. They assail

the one and the other, the dearest and most hallowed rights of the nature we have inherited. They wage war, both the one and the other, on the very soul of legislation. They belong essentially to the same party—are mutually, however blindly, auxiliary to each other. They are offering themselves eagerly to the avenger as His executioners on each other. There is no civil government, as there are no Order, Justice and Humanity, enlisted on either side in the quarrel. It is treason in deadly array against treason. Perhaps they may blindly clear the way for something essentially other than now obtrudes its ghastliness upon our loathing thoughts. Heaven grant it! WHITEBORO, N. Y. BERNARD GREEN.

We gave in a previous number Lincoln's Proclamation, here is DAVIS' PROCLAMATION.

MONTGOMERY, April 17. Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has, by proclamation, announced his intention of invading this Confederacy with an armed force, with the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subjugating its independence, and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power, and Whereas, it has thus become the duty of this government to repel the threatened invasion, and defend the rights and liberties of the people by all means which the laws of nations and usage of civilized warfare placed at its disposal.

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels, on the high seas, to aid this government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under seal of these Confederate States.

And I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque to make the statement in writing, giving the name and suitable description of character, tonnage, and force of vessel, and place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of crew, and to sign such statement and deliver the same to the Secretary of State or Collector of the port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State.

And I do further notify all applicants aforesaid, that before any commission or letter of marque is issued to any vessel, the owner or owners thereof, and the commander for the time being, be required to give bond to the Confederate States, with at least two responsible sureties not interested in such vessel, in the penal sum of five thousand dollars, or if such vessel be provided with more than 150 men, then in the penal sum of ten thousand dollars, with the condition that the owners, officers and crew, who shall be employed on board of such commissioned vessels shall observe the laws of these Confederate States and instructions given them for the regulation of their conduct that shall satisfy all damages done to the contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission, and delivery up of the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States.

And I do further specially enjoin on all persons holding office, civil and military, under authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and zealous in the discharge of the duties incident thereto. And I do moreover solemnly exhort the good people of these Confederate States, as they love the country, as they prize the blessings of free government, as they feel the wrongs of the past, and those now threatened in an aggravated form, by those whose enmity is the more implacable because unprovoked, that they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and efficiency of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for the common defence, and by which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just, and honorable peace.

In testimony whereof I have hereto affixed the seal of the Confederacy, this 17th day of April, 1861. JEFFERSON DAVIS, ROBERT TOOMBS, Secretary of State.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT WAR.

The swift current of events has swept us far out of sight of the old landmarks.

A few journals still continue to repeat with parrot-like iteration, the empty clamors of former days, and you still hear from some lips the words Abolition, Coercion, Compromise.

But we have really done with all these things, and every thinking American now grapples with the grand idea which never presents itself in a questionable shape.

At this moment we have to do with the questions whether majorities or minorities shall rule this country; whether democracy or aristocracy shall prevail; whether the President shall be elected by ballot or by revolution; whether the people shall be sovereign or subject.

It is nothing else whatever.

How obsolete are all the other political ideas. Extension of Slavery: that sounds like an echo from the tomb of the United States Bank! Popular Sovereignty: a whisper from the age of false Slave Cods for the territories: the vague cry of an ante-bellum disorganization!

Even the idea of "a peaceable solution of the existing complications" is mottled over with as gray a growth as that which graced the brows of the venerable men of the Peace Conference.

They say that the dead can bear in a great uproar. Thank God! amid the thunders of the cannon at Charleston, the voice of honor and of patriotism has at last reached the dulled sense of the people. This blaze of battle lights up the path of duty with its glare, and the nation moves forward to a sublime destiny of freedom and of power.

Prosperity had made us too sluggish, too secure, too selfish. Our morals were the morals of commerce. As a people we had a theory that honesty was the best policy, but our public actions proclaimed that we liked the theory only and not the practice.

Our politics were utterly corrupt; our government was a shame to civilization—so weak, so malignant, so dishonest was it. The United States were the bully among the nations—insolent and aggressive with the weak, and only respectful to great power. The people were vainglorious, and in their race for puff and place had forgotten almost these other things to live for.

We say that this stroke of adversity has its lesson, its significance. It teaches us that we cannot idly suffer our privileges to be usurped, or recklessly place our liberties in the keeping of weak or wicked men, and not suffer harm.

War is a terrible thing. But has the last four years' peace been less disastrous and demoralizing than a war? It is very questionable. And this

war that is now forced upon us, can have, in the end, nothing but the best effect though it most involve terrible suffering and loss. For it will end in the triumph of freedom and defeat of slavery. Whether the Union be maintained or not, slavery perishes in the conflict. If dissolution takes place, we in the North are forever rid of the one distracting and corrupting element of our politics. If rebellion is crushed out, then the North remains master of the situation, and slavery no longer being the power in the land, dies of its own violence.

In any event, good will result. And in view of this, we regard the present war as a blessing, and not a calamity to the American people.—Ohio State Journal.

From the Principles. THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

"The curse, countless, has not come?" The intestine war is not without a most guilty cause. What is that cause?

Is it the agitation of the abolitionists? No. There must be a cause lying back of abolitionism. There could have been no abolitionism, had there been no slavery requiring to be abolished. And abolitionism, especially in the hands of a few despised, hated, and vilified abolitionists, could not have influenced the politics of the nation, so as to have produced intestine war, unless the nation had itself been conscious that there was something in slavery and its operations, that laid a foundation and necessity for political action, of some sort, against it.

If abolitionism is, in any sense, to be reckoned among the causes of the war, it is not the guilty cause, unless slavery is in itself right, and if it ought not to be abolished.

The intelligent and consistent opposers of abolitionists, who charge them with the guilt of having produced the agitations of the country, which have now resulted in war, have been driven to the necessity of defending slavery as a divine and providential institution, approved by the word of God. This is the position of the *National Union Society*, the latest organized machinery for fastening upon the abolitionists the crime of plunging the country in confusion, dissension and war. But it is a position against which the conscience and common sense of mankind in common with the spirit of true piety, revolts. The people do not and cannot believe any such thing.

Abolitionism therefore, [the condemnation of slaveholding as sinful, and the corresponding demand, in the name of God and humanity, that it be immediately and unconditionally abolished], cannot be the guilty cause, or the real, primary cause of the agitations that have resulted in war. As well might it be charged upon Christianity, that it is the guilty cause of the domestic and intestine wars that have been occasioned by it, and that Christ himself foresaw and foretold, so that a man's foes should be those of his own household. The enemies of Christianity have often resorted to this charge, but it has always been seen to be unreasonable and unjust. The charge against abolitionism is but a part of the same so-biety, employed for similar ends, to turn the edge of divine reproofs against wickedness.

Slavery then, and not abolitionism, or anti-slavery, in any of its degrees, phases, or manifestations, is the guilty cause of the war. The common sense of the common people, in harmony with the political science of the wisest statesmen, is rapidly coming to see and to understand this. Slavery and nothing else, has disturbed our national unity and peace.

Remove slavery, and you will have removed abolitionism, and beneficence, you will have no agitations, dissensions or wars, from that cause. Remove slavery, and you will have removed the only real ground of political dissension in the nation, sufficient to produce insurrection, rebellion, or intestine war.

It is said that we were once on the verge of intestine war, on account of the Tariff. But the difficulty was settled without a resort to arms or to secession. And, if the whole truth were told, it would be seen that slavery was at the bottom of that controversy, concerning the Tariff. Who was the father of the protective tariff, system? John C. Calhoun, who proposed, and vehemently insisted on the first distinctly protective tariff, that of 1816. What was his object? To undermine Northern commerce, by which the North was becoming rich, while he complained that the South was growing poor. By a protective Tariff, he broke up some of the most lucrative branches of Northern commerce, and compelled the merchants to turn manufacturers of Southern grown cotton, for the benefit of slavery. The same John C. Calhoun, demanded, in 1833, the repeal of the protective Tariff. For what reason? Because he found that the North was still growing rich, while the South was growing poor. Slave labor could not compete with free labor. And so Northern industry must again be deranged to check its disproportionate prosperity. This was the real cause of the difficulty about the Tariff.

Slavery is the guilty cause of the war. Its national tolerance is the great national sin, for which God is now visiting the nation with His judgments. God overthrew Pharaoh and the Egyptians for his sin of oppression. He removed, first the Ten Tribes of Israel, and then Judah and Benjamin, into captivity in Babylon, for the sin of oppression. This he threatened by his inspired prophets, before hand, and the inspired historians have recorded the fulfillment of those prophecies. All the ancient nations were threatened with overthrow by the inspired prophets, for the same sin of oppression. And the history of these nations proves the fulfillment of those predictions.

The known laws of moral and political cause and effect, established by the Creator, teach us the same lesson.

This nation is an oppressive nation. And from this oppression, and as a just punishment for it, the nation is now involved in war. To deny this, is to deny that there is any such thing as political science. It is to deny that any instruction is to be derived from history. It is to deny the connection between moral cause and effect. It is to deny an overruling Providence, the moral accountability of Governments and nations, and the Divine Inspiration of the Bible. Men must become stark atheists or lunatics before they can help knowing (however they may wilfully deny it), that SLAVERY IS THE GUILTY CAUSE OF THE WAR.

THE SECESSION FLAG IN THE RIGHT PLACE.—The Hopkinsville (Ky) *Mercury* remarks:

The New Orleans *Crescent* says that some of the negroes have secession flags flying on their dirt-carts. We are not surprised at this. Judging from the number of runaway bills we have printed, a great many of the negroes are in favor of immediate secession. And we really think that a secession flag is far more appropriate for a nigger dirt-cart than for a State House.

Slavery may go down in the general melee; if it does not, it certainly will perish in the event of a separation of the States, unless the separation be followed by concessions from the North from which slavery can derive its further support. We are content quietly to abide the issue; and even if our Quaker principles did not now withhold us, as they ever have withheld us from any participation in war measures, or voluntary support, even in time of peace, of a government based on the sword, our views of policy at the present time would certainly restrain us from giving active support to such an one.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

PROVIDENCE HAS MADE AN AUTHOR, AND SLAVERY, AN OUTLAW.—John Brown of Ossawatimie.

SALEM, OHIO, APRIL 27, 1861.

TO NON-SUBSCRIBERS WHO RECEIVE THE BUGLE.

Non-subscribers need not decline receiving the Bugle, fearing that they will be called upon to pay for it. We send no paper—except gratis copies—unless paid for in advance. So we say to each of the above class, the paper is either sent to you as a gratuity by the publishers, or else paid for in your name by some friend.

CONSISTENCY.

It has been some sixteen years since we first took the editorial charge of the Anti-Slavery Bugle. The motto it adopted, was "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS," and this motto it has unflinchingly borne to the present time. There, it was a doctrine as odious in popular estimation as can possibly be imagined. It was scouted, its advocates were everywhere reviled and spoken against, and often insulted and mobbed. It was alleged that we were harsh and uncharitable toward the South in exposing the iniquities of slavery, and insisting that the North owed it to her self respect, and to the requirements of justice that she cease to support the institution politically, or give countenance to it in any other way.

We stand to-day in relation to the South precisely where we stood then, advancing the same doctrine and urging the same duty, summing up both in the same motto as in the beginning. But to-day we are censured, and threatened with violence because we are too lenient toward the South, because, although they are slaveholders—base and inhuman—we recognize them as possessing rights as men, because we are not ready to forever wear the peace principles that we inherited, and which by conviction and adoption we made our own when we arrived at manhood, and to take up arms against the South and force her back into union with the North.

No one who has cared to know our position is ignorant of it, and it cannot be denied that we have been consistent in the advocacy of those doctrines which we believed to be right—urging them without fear, and without hope of favor, and irrespective of persons.

THE OBJECT. THE RESULT.

At the time of the Presidential campaign of last fall, many ardent haters of slavery voted for the Republican nominee, with the hope, if not the expectation, that if elected, his administration would be such as to greatly weaken the system of slavery. With the views which Disunionists hold of the requirements of the U. S. Constitution—its obligation laid upon the North to return fugitive slaves, as abundantly illustrated by disgraceful exhibitions of blood-houndism on our soil, and its obligation to defend slaveholding in the States when its permanency is threatened, as exemplified in the capture and execution of John Brown and his companions in Virginia—they of course could not stand justified in violating their principles, even had the hope of accomplishing good been much more apparent than it was; unless, indeed, it be right to do evil that good may come, and the axiom that "the end sanctifies the means," be true.

But the abolition of slavery was not the object of the Republican party, nor was it the design of the party leaders; and the inaugural of the President gave a gratuitous assurance to the South that the permanency of its peculiar property would not be endangered by the new administration.

We are now told that the present war will result in the overthrow of slavery. We earnestly trust that it will; and we believe there are those who go into it with the determination to fight for that purpose. But is the overthrow of slavery the object of those who give character to the administration, who decide what its policy shall be, and who control the movements of its military machinery as wholly as the engineer controls the movements of the locomotive? The administration has announced as distinctly as language will permit, that the purpose for which it has called out the troops is, to maintain the laws of the United States, the integrity of the Union, and the perpetuity of the Federal government.

The fact that the government of the Confederate States is more avowedly and utterly pro-slavery than the government of the United States, does not make us any more willing to support the latter than we have been for the last twenty years; intensify our hostility to the concentrated slaveholding government of Jeff. Davis. We have never recognized the rightfulness of choosing a moral evil, though a lesser one, and we cannot, so long as we retain our present belief. When we are converted to an opposite opinion, we shall retract all we have heretofore said against political abolitionists pursuing such a course as they did in supporting Abraham Lincoln at the last election, and admit that we misjudged the actions of anti-slavery Republicans.

If the U. S. troops effect the object for which the administration has set them in battle array, the Southern States will, of course, be compelled to abandon their Confederate Government, and resume their old places under the Constitution and in the Union, and the North will remain bound, as heretofore, to support the unrighteous, pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution, against which we have for years endeavored to direct the anti-slavery sentiment. The government will come out of the contest stronger upon these points than ever, and having whipped the South into the traces, will be eager to evince its impartiality by compelling the North to faithfully observe the guarantees it has given in the bond. Whether such a result is desirable, and one which Disunion abolitionists should labor to promote, each must judge for himself. We are not